

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 04699 032115Z

46

ACTION EUR-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 4699

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: ATLANTIC RELATIONS: FRENCH DRAFT DECLARATION OF THE 15

FOLLOWING IS INFORMAL MISSION TRANSLATION OF FRENCH DRAFT DECLARATION OF THE 15 WHICH PERMREP DE ROSE CIRCULATED DURING OCTOBER 3 NAC, ORIGINAL FRENCH TEXT, AS WELL AS DE ROSE'S COMMENTS EXPLAINING AND AMPLIFYING TEXT TRANSMITTED SEPTELS.

BEGIN TEXT

MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE NOTE THAT THE TREATY SIGNED BY THEM 25 YEARS AGO TO PRESERVE THEIR LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE FOLLOWING A CONFLICT WHICH ALMOST MADE THEM LOST BOTH, HAS FULLY ACCOMPLISHED ITS MISSION. UNDER ITS PROTECTION, WESTERN EUROPE HAS BEEN ABLE TO REBUILD ITS RUINS; ACHIEVE A LEVEL OF PROSPERITY NEVER BEFORE ATTAINED; LAY THE FOUNDATIONS OF ITS UNITY -- THIS AT A TIME WHEN THE WESTERN WORLD WAS GAINING SELF-CONFIDENCE AND INCREASINGLY ABLE TO ASSURE THE PROJECTION OF THOSE VALUES OF CIVILIZATION TO WHICH IT HAS ATTACHED ITS NAME.
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 04699 032115Z

SINCE THEN, GREAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED ON THE ROAD TO DETENTE AND HARMONY AMONG NATIONS, TO THE POINT WHERE A CONFERENCE GATHERING TOGETHER 34 COUNTRIES OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA IS NOW SEIZED WITH DEFINING THE STANDARDS APPROPRIATE

FOR ESTABLISHING SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. MEMBER COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE TAKE SATISFACTION IN THIS DEVELOPMENT, BUT ARE OF THE OPINION THAT AS LONG AS CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH DO NOT PERMIT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GENERAL DISARMAMENT -- ONE THAT IS COMPLETE AND CONTROLLED WHICH ALONE WOULD BRING TO EACH AND EVERYONE A TRUE SENSE OF SECURITY -- THESE DEVELOPMENTS, FAR FROM BEING INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE OBJECTIVES OF THE TREATY UNITING THEM, OBLIGE THEM TO MAINTAIN THE BONDS WHICH DERIVE FROM THAT TREATY. THE STATES WHICH DESIRE TO MAINTAIN PEACE HAVE NEVER BEEN ABLE TO ATTAIN THIS GOAL BY BEGLECTING THE NECESSITY OF THEIR OWN SECURITY.

AT THE SAME TIME, THEY NOTE THAT THE CONDITIONS OF THEIR COMMON DEFENSE HAVE BEEN PROFOUNDLY ALTERED DURING THE COURSE OF THE PAST 10 YEARS. THE BALANCE OF STRATEGIC FORCES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, TOGETHER WITH THE MUTUAL VULNERABILITY WHICH RESULTS THEREFROM, HAS ESTABLISHED A LARGE MEASURE OF STABILITY IN THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THESE TWO POWERS. BUT EUROPE REMAINS VULNERABLE TO ALL OTHER FORMS OF CONFLICT, AND THE PROBLEM OF ITS DEFENSE ACQUIRES AN EVER-MORE SPECIFIC CHARACTER.

THIS NEW SITUATION CHANGES NOTHING TO THE ESSENTIAL PROBLEM: THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE AT THE PRESENT TIME -- MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE WISH TO REASSERT -- TO THE SECURITY WHICH UNITED STATES NUCLEAR FORCES PROVIDE, BE THESE BASED IN THE UNITED STATES OR IN EUROPE.

THE RESULT OF THIS FOR EUROPE, HOWEVER, IS THE NEED TO PAY MORE ATTENTION TO THE RISKS TO WHICH IT FINDS ITSELF EXPOSED AND, FOR THE UNITED STATES, THE NEED TO BRING INTO PLAY ALL MEANS FOR WARDING THEM OFF. THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, WHOSE FORCES REPRESENT THREE QUARTERS OF THE ALLIANCES CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE, AND TWO OF WHICH POSSESS NUCLEAR FORCES ABLE TO PLAY A DETRRENT ROLE OF THEIR OWN, PLEDGE THEMSELVES TO BRING THE NECESSARY CONTRIBUTION FOR MAINTAINING THE COMMON DEFENSE TO CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 04699 032115Z

A LEVEL CAPABLE OF DETERRING ANY UNDERTAKING DIRECTED AGAINST THEIR INDEPENDENCE OR THEIR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. THE UNITED STATES, FOR ITS PART, DECLARES THAT IT WILL NOT ACCEPT ANY SITUATION WHICH WOULD EXPOSE EUROPE TO AN EXTERNAL POLITICAL OR MILITARY PRESSURE WHICH MIGHT ALIENATE ITS LIBERTY; REAFFIRMS THAT IT WILL MAINTAIN ITS FORCES IN EUROPE AT A LEVEL COMPATIBLE WITH A CREDIBLE STRATEGY OF DETERRENCE AS WELL AS WITH THE CAPABILITY TO DEFEND THE NORTH ATLANTIC ZONE IF DETERRENCE WERE TO FAIL; AND THAT THE AIM OF THE AGREEMENT MADE ON JUNE 22, 1973 WITH THE SOVIET UNION IS TO PREVENT ALL FORMS OF WAR, AND NOT TO LAY DOWN THE RULES AND LIMITATIONS ACCORDING TO WHICH A WAR WOULD BE WAGED.

THE MEMBERS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AFFIRM IN THIS RESPECT,

THAT THE ULTIMATE AIM OF ALL DEFENSE POLICY BEING TO PROHIBIT A POSSIBLE AGGRESSOR FROM REACHING THE OBJECTIVES WHICH HE WOULD LIKE TO IMPOSE, ALL THE FORCES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE WOULD BE EMPLOYED, IF NECESSARY, FOR THESE PURPOSES.

THE COMMON DEFENSE CONSISTS, IN EFFECT, OF SOLIDARITY AND INDIVISIBILITY. THE COMMON OBJECTIVE IS TO MAINTAIN A FORCE CAPABILITY OF A NATURE SUCH AS TO PREVENT THE OUTBREAK OF A CONFLICT, THE STAKES OF WHICH WOULD BE THE DOMINATION OF THE WORLD THROUGH THE DISAPPEARANCE OF EUROPE'S INDEPENDENCE.

IN THIS PERSPECTIVE, IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT THE CONTINUED AND SUBSTANTIAL PRESENCE OF AMERICAN FORCES IN EUROPE PLAYS AN IRREPLACEABLE ROLE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES ITSELF, AS WELL AS FOR THAT OF THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE. SIMILARLY, THE EVOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY TOWARDS POLITICAL UNITY SHOULD, WHEN THE TIME COMES, HAVE BENEFICIAL EFFECTS ON THE CONTRIBUTION WHICH THOSE COUNTRIES COMPRISING THIS COMMUNITY WHO ARE ALSO MEMBERS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, WILL BRING TO THE PROBLEM OF DEFENSE.

THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE ARE CONVINCED, TODAY AS IN THE PAST, THAT THESE OBJECTIVES WILL NOT BE ATTAINED UNLESS THEY MAINTAIN AMONG THEMSELVES CLOSE CONSULTATION AND CONFIDENT COOPERATION ON ALL PROBLEMS WHICH ARE COMMON TO THEM.

THEY REAFFIRM THAT THEIR EFFORTS, WHICH AIM TO PRESERVE THEIR CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NATO 04699 032115Z

INDEPENDENCE, MAINTAIN THEIR SECURITY AND IMPROVE THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THEIR PEOPLES, EXCLUDE ALL AGGRESSION AGAINST ANYONE, ARE NOT DIRECTED AGAINST ANY OTHER COUNTRY, AND AIM AT THE GENERAL IMPROVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL

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